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A Plain Difference: Variation in Case-Marking in a Pennsylvania German Speaking Community *

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Abstract: Previous studies (e.g., Huffines 1989, Louden 1987) have demonstrated that Pennsylvania German (PG) is undergoing processes of convergence to English but that these processes differ between plain communities (i.e., Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite) and non-plain communities. I investigate a question that these studies have not addressed: what is the degree of variation *within* plain and nonplain communities? Data collected from 70 PG speakers from one traditional plain community (Old Order Amish) and two historically plain communities (Conservative Mennonite, and Mennonite) in Kalona, Iowa are analyzed for variation in dative case-marking. A comparison with Huffines's study shows that there are considerable differences in usage between these plain communities and those that she studied. In addition, quantitative analyses reveal that in Kalona, patterns of usage correlate most strongly with the speaker's age, reflecting an earlier period of relative social and linguistic homogeneity in the local religious communities. Quantitative analyses also provide an indication of which

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functions of dative case-marking are undergoing the most rapid attrition. I discuss the implications that these findings have for the past and continuing development of PG varieties in the U.S.

1. Introduction

1.1 The question of variation within plain Pennsylvania German communities

There is a dearth of research on Pennsylvania German (PG) in Mennonite and Amish communities. This is true despite the fact that the only remaining locations where PG continues as a viable first language are found among the sectarian communities of the "plain people"—the Old Order Mennonites and Amish.

When research has included plain communities, it has often focused on the differences between plain PG (PPG) and non-plain PG (NPG)[1]. Huffines' 1989 study of case-marking and Louden's 1987 investigation of convergence and innovation in PG tense systems fall into this category. Little work has been done to investigate variation in PG within plain communities[2].

In this paper I report on a study of linguistic variation within and between PPG communities. This type of study can inform our understanding of the development of PG with regards to points of dialectal divergence and convergence between PPG communities, the relative homogeneity of earlier stages of PG in both plain and nonplain communities, and patterns of language change in situations of intense language contact and language death.

The aim of this paper then, is to demonstrate and account for the existence of variation within a PPG community as a first step toward understanding the nature of variation within and between PPG communities. Data on dative case usage in the PPG community of Kalona, Iowa will serve as the basis for the quantitative aspects of this study.

In the remainder of the first section of this paper I will review some previous research on variation in PPG and note its shortcomings. In the second section I will present the PPG community of Kalona, Iowa: its history and current sociolinguistic context. I describe the selection of dependent and independent variables and method of data collection for the study of case usage in section three. The data are presented in section four and factor weights and significance are calculated via binomial analyses and logistic regression using the GoldVarb 2.1 program. In section five I discuss a change in apparent time taking place in Kalona with respect to case usage and offer an account for these age-

[1] I adopt this terminology from Louden 1987, p.1.

[2] Some exceptions include Enninger's (1979, 1988) study of the Old Order Amish community in Kent County, Delaware and Van Ness 1992 on loss of gender marking among Ohio New Order Amish. Enninger's research concentrates on lexical borrowing and the quantitative aspect includes data on only three speakers. Van Ness's study includes quantitative analyses, but neither Van Ness nor Enninger take the additional step of comparing the variation in PPG in these communities with other plain communities.

correlated patterns. Finally, I conclude in section six by noting implications that these findings have and suggesting next steps in research.

1.2 Previous Studies of Grammatical Change in Plain Communities

1.2.1 Louden 1987

Louden notes that although PG dialects were formerly distinguished by region, now the distinctions are social: contact with English has yielded different outcomes in the tense systems of PPG and NPG. In the former, change is occurring rapidly as PPG conforms to American English morphosyntactic patterns for the expression of tense. Although not explicitly stated, Louden's working assumption appears to be that PPG and NPG are monolithic varieties, with relatively little internal variation.

1.2.2 Huffines 1989 and 1992, Northumberland County, PA

Huffines (1989 and 1992) conducted a study among PG speakers in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. The focus of her study was to identify differences in the PG of the non-sectarians of German Lutheran and Reformed background (i.e. NPG) and that of the sectarians, here Amish and some Old Order Mennonite (i.e. PPG). Among the non-sectarians the language is dying, while among the sectarians it remains the vital first language of the community. Comparisons were made of use of the dative case versus accusative. Huffines had her informants complete a translation task which consisted of a number of sentences which called for dative constructions according to PG grammars[3]. The results are given in Table 1. The Non-sectarian (N-s) group is divided into three sub-groups: Native speakers, speakers who were the first in their family to learn English as their first language, and speakers who were the second (or later) in their family to learn English as their first language. These last two groups are considered semi-speakers.

Table 1 Huffines (1989) translation task.

Group	Dative	Accusative	Other	Total
Non-sectarian	83	22	0	105
N-s 1st Eng. speaker in fam.	50	43	1	94
N-s 2nd Eng. speaker in fam.	30	39	8	77
Mennonite	1	86	0	87
Amish	2	90	0	92

Huffines arrives at the counter-intuitive conclusion that NPG is not maximally converging to English in the non-sectarian community in which it is dying. That is, it has not reduced its pronominal case-marking to match that of English[4]. Interestingly, PPG

[3] Huffines assumes a "standardized" form of PG at some previous time—at least with respect to case usage.
[4] English personal pronouns mark case distinctions only between nominative and common case in 1sg (I vs. me), 1pl (we vs. us), 3sg (he vs. him, she vs. her), and 3pl (they vs. them)

has nearly completely lost the accusative-dative distinction in the speech of the Amish and Mennonites of this community. Is this internal change or is it convergence to English? That is difficult to assess here, if only because case systems have been shown to have simplified via either/both external and internal influences in a number of languages.

Like Louden, Huffines focuses on the divergence between PPG and NPG. She does allow for some variation in the NPG speakers due to differing degrees of fluency, and she admits in a footnote to a certain amount (no figures are given) of age-correlated variation among the PPG speakers. However, on the whole it is clear that Huffines views the variation internal to the two groups as insignificant, commenting that among PPG speakers there is "remarkable uniformity" and that "lack of variation in this case merger bespeaks the cohesion of the plain community as a speech community" (1992, 171). It is not clear to what extent she perceives this lack of variation extending across all PPG communities.

There is, however, one scholar who has acknowledged, the existence of significant variation between two varieties of PPG. Burridge 1992, notes in passing that the replacement of the dative with common/accusative forms in possessive constructions is "not nearly as advanced" among Old Order Mennonites in Ontario as it is among Huffines' Northumberland PPG speakers. Unfortunately, Burridge does not quantify her findings.

1.3 Implications for the history and development of PG

A detailed description of the nature and extent of variation that exists within PPG, that is between various regional PPG varieties and within a given PPG regional variety, is crucial to our understanding of the origins and ongoing development of PG.

First, the nature of variation within modern-day PPG varieties may suggest that earlier varieties of PPG were not nearly so homogenous as has been assumed. If instead we are to retain this assumption, then a satisfactory explanation for the subsequent divergence of PPG dialects must be proposed. The same holds for variation between PPG and NPG dialects, and a good deal of evidence pertaining to this problem has already been gathered (e.g., Louden 1987, Huffines 1989).

In any case, a study of variation within modern-day PPG dialects will help to highlight points at which the grammars of these dialects are diverging from each other. If divergence is taking place, is it impacting all subsystems of grammar equally and what social circumstances particular to the communities can be identified as influencing these developments?

Also, it is possible that a survey of the grammars of a number of PPG dialects will reveal points of convergence to English that all hold in common. Can these points of convergence be accounted for as a number of independent language contact or language

shift or even language death phenomena? If not, then what is the nature of the networks that link these noncontiguous language varieties?[5]

2. Sociohistorical context

2.1 A brief history of Pennsylvania German

Pennsylvania German, popularly known as "Pennsylvania Dutch," is the name given to the varieties of German that grew out of the leveling of mainly southwest German dialects in Pennsylvania in the years before the American Revolution. The dialects involved in this leveling process included as its main inputs Franconian, Palatinate, Alsatian, and Swiss varieties of German.

The term "varieties of German" is used intentionally here, because it is not clear that the leveling which took place in the early 1700's was so complete and widespread as to have resulted in a single, homogeneous PG dialect, though this is often assumed. Enninger 1988 suggests that a fairly thorough leveling process is entirely plausible for the plain communities and the related Anabaptist churches (the Mennonites); the nonplain PG are not mentioned. Enninger does note, however, the existence of at least one divergent PPG variety in Berne, Indiana (see also Thompson 1994).

In addition to the current linguistic heterogeneity of PG, which this paper demonstrates and which other research has amply confirmed, there are simple sociohistorical reasons to believe that PG was never monolithic. Firstly, there is the lack of contact between plain and nonplain speakers due in large part to the former's traditional separatism. Secondly, there is the continuing immigration of plain PG speakers in the 1800's which introduced a constant flow of continental German speakers to Mennonite and Amish communities in North America, both in Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

The speakers of the input dialects to PG represented many religious groups who came to the New World in response to William Penn's offer of religious freedom. The Mennonites were the first to arrive, settling in the Philadelphia area in 1683. They were soon followed by Amish, Dunkards, Schwenkfelders, and Moravians. In the 1720's a large influx of German Lutherans and Reformed began and these eventually outnumbered the earlier arrivals. It is not clear if nor when PG stabilized as a common code for these German communities in southeast Pennsylvania, but a cutoff in immigration during the Revolutionary War may have allowed the dialect leveling process to run to near completion (Van Ness 1989, 421). The extent to which varieties within PG evolved differently following the Revolutionary War is also unknown, although some researchers such as Huffines 1989 clearly assume a high degree of intradialectal homogeneity.

[5] Answers to these questions would also further clarify the social embedding problem as noted in Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968.

Today PG is spoken by 200,000 to 300,000 speakers in many of the contiguous United States and several Canadian provinces (Van Ness 1989, 420). Most of these speakers belong to the traditional plain communities and it is in their communities alone that PG is being acquired as a first language by children. In the other plain communities, that is, the historically or formerly plain communities (e.g., Mennonites) and the nonplain/nonsectarian communities, PG is a dying language.

2.2 The Amish-Mennonite settlement of Kalona, Iowa

As the 19th century began many Mennonites and Amish joined the pioneer movement westward from Pennsylvania in search of cheaper farmland. In the 1840's Amish and Mennonites were among the first Europeans to settle in the English River valley of southeastern Iowa in an area centered around what is now the town of Kalona. The community in its early years was essentially monolingual with all members speaking Pennsylvania German.

The Amish and Mennonites in Kalona (and elsewhere) were similar to each other in language and lifestyle until the turn of the twentieth century[6], when numerical growth and increasingly rapid advances in technology forced the community to make decisions about such things as whether or not to construct church buildings and to accept restrictions on the use of telephones, electricity, and motor vehicles. Those in the community who accepted these changes eventually associated formally with the Mennonite (M) church. Those who didn't remained Amish, or Old Order Amish (OOA) as they came to be known. Ties between the two Anabaptist faith communities remained close over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, because many persons had family and friends in both church communities. Further, the Mennonite church continued to be a natural "home" for the significant numbers of OOA who chose to leave their own church. As the gap between M and OOA grew, some chose to affiliate with the Conservative Mennonite (CM) church which attempted to strike a lifestyle, theological, and—for a while—linguistic "middle ground" between the two poles.

A watershed event in the linguistic history of these communities is when English became the primary language for worship services. In the M church this occurred around World War I, in the CM churches the switch to English took place in the late 1930's. The OOA continue to use PG as the primary language in their worship services. High German, or "Bible German" as it is also called, is sometimes used in sermons. Scriptures in OOA worship are also in High German, generally read from the German Bible of Luther, though few understand it well.

[6] There is no small amount of confusion regarding the distinctions between Amish and Mennonites in the first seventy years of the Kalona settlement. This is perhaps best exemplified by a discussion between my grandmother and her brother (both now Mennonites aged 93 and 89 respectively at the time). She thought they were Amish growing up, but he maintained they were Mennonite—or at least "Amish-Mennonite." This label is used below in the table on demographic information.

2.3 The Community

This study concentrates on PG speakers living in the geographic area of Kalona town, population 2000, and the rural areas of high density Amish and Mennonite population which fall within an approximate 10-mile radius northeast and northwest of the town in northern Washington and southern Johnson counties. The nearest city is Iowa City, population 60,000, 20 miles to the north.

The total population of this area is estimated to be 5000-10,000, and members of various Anabaptist groups number approximately 3000. It is not known precisely how many of these are PG speakers, but a rough estimate would be fifty percent or 1500. This would include all OOA and many older M's and CM's. Most of the latter two are over 70 with the youngest non-OOA PG speakers being about 40.

The area around Kalona remains largely rural and the livelihood of many residents is closely tied to agriculture. Tourism is a growing industry—as it is in many areas with conservative Anabaptist settlements—parlaying the trappings of yesteryear into a successful business. Livestock auctions at the Sale Barn, the restored historical village and museum, "Amish" cooking, and a reputation as the "Quilt Capital of Iowa" are bringing more visitors from within and without the state.

As noted above, the major religious denominations in the community are the Old Order Amish, the Conservative Mennonites, and the Mennonites. There also exists a Beachy Amish (BA) church, a fellowship of New Order Amish (NOA), and some splinter groups of no official designation. Each of these communities is described below.

2.3.1 Old Order Amish

The number of OOA in Kalona cannot be precisely determined. There are approximately 160 OOA families which comprise 8 church districts. Each church district has its own Sunday meeting which rotates between the houses of members. Based on the number in attendance at a Sunday meeting I attended and on the relatively large number of children in many OOA families, a conservative estimate would place the number of OOA in Kalona at 1000 individuals.

The lifestyle of the OOA is dictated by the church community code known as the Ordnung. The Ordnung can vary in its details from one OOA community to the next, but in general it stresses the virtue of humility, *demut*, and the sin of pride, *hochmut*. Adherence to the Ordnung of the Kalona OOA community manifests itself outwardly in a number of ways. I will mention only several of these. There is the characteristic appearance and clothing: men wear beards but no mustaches, women have long hair worn under a bonnet, men wear long pants and suspenders, women wear cape dresses, neither have buttons on their clothing. Electricity is not used in OOA homes, and members do not own telephones, televisions, radios, or cars. Local travel is done by horse and buggy,

and, for longer distances, by hired drivers or by bus. Decorations in homes are restricted to the utilitarian: clocks and calendars.

Nearly all OOA work at farm and farm-related occupations. Farming is very work-intensive given that much standard farming equipment is not used by the OOA including combines and trucks. Tractors are allowed, but are driven on their steel rims since rubber tires are not permitted.[7] Some young people, especially women, take jobs working in town at the Sale Barn or bakery and some are hired out to clean houses in Iowa City. This trend is likely to continue as the available farm land is not enough to meet the demand of OOA children as they grow up, marry, and seek to start their own farms. Even those who work in town are still most likely to live on a farm. A few OOA, mostly unmarried or widowed women of retirement age, live in town.

Outside of work, social life revolves around the home and the church. Sunday meetings consist of a two-hour long service followed by a simple noon meal and visiting. Socializing goes on before and after the service, generally in sex-segregated groups. Young people often go to "singings" Sunday evenings, events attended by unmarried people from several area districts. Socializing at singings also takes place in sex-segregated groups, although some cross-sex conversation can be assumed to take place on the buggy ride home—a common form of "dating." Socializing with non-OOA is discouraged, although non-members, which includes most young, unmarried OOA, are not subject to the same restrictions as members (e.g., some young men own cars).

OOA children attend the one room district school until the eighth grade. Teachers are selected from among the young, unmarried men and women of the community. Instruction and curriculum are all in English although there are classes in reading the German Bible for the older students. There is an unwritten, but widespread and strictly-observed rule that only English is spoken at school, ostensibly to help the younger children learn English.

Linguistic attitudes and practices of the OOA are examined in more detail in section 2.4.

2.3.2 Conservative Mennonites

There are three CM churches in the Kalona area. Precise membership figures are not available, but a total of 500 members is a conservative estimate. The lifestyle of the CM's is not so strictly structured as that of the OOA. Still, certain patterns of appearance prevail, in particular, the wearing of dresses and the prayer covering by women. In most other respects, CM's resemble outwardly the lifestyle of other rural Iowans. They own cars, televisions, radios, telephones, and other modern conveniences. CM children attend public schools, though there is a private school attended by some. Education for most

[7] From a theological viewpoint, rubber tires are considered "worldly"—that is, a fancy, unnecessary tool employed by the secular world. Using such a tool could make one proud. From a practical, rule-enforcement standpoint, steel rims may work to ensure that tractors are restricted to use in fields and not as a common transportation.

CM children ends after achieving a high school diploma. A few choose to go on to attend a two-year Bible college, usually at the CM school in Rosedale, Ohio. In part due to limited higher education, the occupations that CM's undertake tend to be in agriculture, in business, or in a skilled trade.

CM's hold Sunday meetings in church buildings and services are completely in English. Social activities with other church members are encouraged and may include activities in public places (e.g. roller-skating), though certain activities such as movies are discouraged.

Linguistic attitudes and practices of the CM's are examined in more detail in section 2.4.

2.3.3 Mennonites

There are a total of 10 M churches in the Kalona area with approximately 1700 members. In lifestyle M's are outwardly completely assimilated to the wider American society. In their dress and their homes, they are indistinguishable from neighboring non-M's. There is a Mennonite high school near Kalona with over 200 students, both M and non-M enrolled, though many M choose to attend public schools. Higher education has become increasingly acceptable since the first half of this century and is now widely encouraged. Many M students choose to attend college. Many M's continue to work in farm-related occupations, although many also operate businesses in town or work as professionals.

Church meetings are held in buildings and worship services are completely in English. Social activities differ little from other nonplain, non-Anabaptist members in the community.

Linguistic attitudes and practices of the M's are examined in more detail in section 2.4.

2.3.4 Other Anabaptist groups

The Beachy Amish (BA) and New Order Amish (NOA) are two relatively small groups in Kalona. Both resemble the OOA more than they do CM's or M's.

The differences are greater in the case of the BA who permit themselves to use the "big four" prohibitions of the OOA: electricity, cars, telephones, and rubber tires. In addition, the women's bonnet or "covering" is smaller and is worn untied, and most significantly for this study, the BA have not used PG in worship services since the 1970s. The Sharon Bethel Beachy Amish church currently has approximately 125 in regular attendance.

The NOA in Kalona formed in 1979 and resemble the OOA in almost every respect except for their use of tractors with rubber tires and a concomitant openness to other practices outside the OOA tradition.[8]

A third group, the Salem Church of South English 15 miles west of Kalona, falls into a niche somewhere between the CM and the BA. This particular group has also had a recent splinter group form which meets 5 miles north of Kalona. Both groups dress conservatively but allow modern conveniences and neither uses PG in worship services.

This study includes one BA member and two NOA members—an insufficient number to warrant their inclusion as separate groups. Instead these BA and NOA individuals are subsumed by the group in which they were raised, which is OOA in all three cases. No one from the Salem Church is included in the study.

2.3.5 Other non-Anabaptist groups

The rest of the Kalona community falls under the category "other non-Anabaptist." Although the geographical area in this study has a majority or plurality Anabaptist population, there are several thousand people living there who are not affiliated with OOA, CM's or M's. Non-Anabaptist residents in this area work primarily in occupations related to agriculture, although an increasing number live in the country and commute to jobs in Iowa City.

2.3.6 Relationship of Kalona PG speakers to noncontiguous German-speaking communities

Any investigation of variation in Kalona PG must consider also to what extent Kalona PG speakers might be influenced by interactions with speakers of PG or other German dialects from other communities. I will take this opportunity to note other German-speaking communities and their apparent relationship to Kalona PG speakers.

Other German-speaking communities exist in Iowa, most notably the Amana Colonies located 60 miles northwest of Kalona. To forestall any confusion, I will emphasize that the two communities are in no way related either historically or in any current interactions.[9]

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[8] Both sides still harbor strong feelings about this relatively recent break from the OOA: an NOA member noted to my grandmother that passing OOA give them the "high hat," that is, the person turns away their face to make a show of ignoring the NOA.

[9] The Amana Colonies were founded in 1855 by 1200 members of a pietist group called "The Community of True Inspiration." This community originated in southwest Germany in the early 1700s, before travelling to America in 1842 in search of religious freedom, settling near Buffalo, NY before moving on to Iowa. Under separatist communal living arrangements the Amanas became a thriving community. Communal practices and German schooling were abandoned in the 1932 and English worship services were added in the 1950s. Although worship services in both English and German continue to be held today, the German language is dying in the Amanas in much the same way as it is among the M's and CM's of Kalona: it is spoken only by the older generations.

There are a number of other PG-speaking communities in Iowa and the midwest, all of them having a strong OOA presence and none of them geographically contiguous with Kalona. The nearest of these is in Davis County, 50 miles south of Kalona. The next closest is 100 miles north in Buchanan County, settled earlier this century by a group of disgruntled Kalona OOA seeking a stricter Ordnung.

Outside of Iowa, there are OOA settlements in Harmony, Minnesota, Missouri and then a string of communities spotting the states and provinces directly east: Arthur, Illinois; Elkhart and Lagrange Counties, Indiana; Holmes County, Ohio; Geauga County, Ohio; Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and Waterloo, Ontario. The latter five on this list happen to be the largest OOA communities in the world.

The role that these communities might play in setting or influencing linguistic norms for Kalona PG speakers remains an open question. It is clear that Kalona is geographically isolated from other PG-speaking communities, however we can not yet eliminate the possibility that regular and perhaps relatively intense interaction takes place between distant OOA settlements. This is an area for future research.

2.4 Attitudes Toward and Usage of PG in Kalona

In general, attitudes toward PG are overwhelmingly positive, although a sizable minority of M's and CM's do not like to speak it—often because they feel that their command of the language is no longer adequate for relaxed conversation.

All of the respondents are, or were at one time, bilingual in PG and English, though with varying degrees of fluency. All, except for one, acquired PG as their L1 in early childhood. For many, English was acquired at home alongside PG, often from older siblings. For some, mostly oldest siblings themselves, English acquisition began in earnest in grade school. For most respondents both home and school settings played a role in their acquisition of English.

Thus, by the early grade school years, nearly all of the speakers in this study had achieved a level of fluent bilingualism in PG and English. But this was not to last. For those in whose homes PG continues to be spoken today (i.e., all of the OOA), fluency in PG has been maintained. For many CM and M respondents, however, English rapidly and completely supplanted PG as an L1 once they married non-PG-speaking spouses or once their children were in school for a few years and had monolingual English-speaking friends.

Among the non-OOA population, then, there are many speakers who have not used PG as a primary means of communication in their homes for 20, 30, even 60 years. The effects of this language disuse are difficult to measure and appear to vary widely from one individual to the next, but certainly for some it has led to language attrition: rusty

speakers.[10] The most obvious characteristic of the speech of rusty speakers is vocabulary loss, as one 78-year-old M woman admitted: "There's too many words I've forgotten...a woman talked German with me and I couldn't keep up."

Frequency of usage of PG ranges widely among the respondents from "every day" (all OOA and one CM) to several times a week to "only on certain occasions" (e.g. at the funeral of an OOA relative). When extended conversation in PG does occur, the context for all speakers is communication with OOA relatives or neighbors. The choice of English or PG in these situations is driven in part by the setting, e.g., English when meeting in public vs. PG when gathering at a OOA home for a reunion.

There is a strictly-observed convention that PG not be spoken when non-PG speakers are present. All respondents agreed that it is rude to speak PG when others in the conversation cannot understand. But many also affirmed that it is equally rude to speak PG even when others are not in the conversation but within earshot. Still, in town or in public, little PG is spoken. "Sometimes we're in a group and we speak English, even if all can speak Dutch," said a 50-year-old OOA woman. And English is used by OOA with customers in their places of business such as the harness shop, steel shed, upholstery business, print shop, etc...

In spite of the fact that they may have limited chances to use it, non-OOA Kalona PG speakers generally like speaking PG. Many cite its expressive power and some CM and M speakers use PG to add a dash of silliness to their English conversations and jokes.

Standard or literary German exerts only a small influence on the speech of Kalona PG speakers. Few have studied it in high school or college. Most have had exposure to the literary language in church where a rather archaic literary German is used in songs and in scripture reading. For the M's and CM's this exposure would have been in their early years; for the OOA it continues. Since a thorough reading knowledge of German is not always easily attained by the end of 8th grade, many OOA go to "Dutch College," an informal course which meets for approximately six weeks during the winter. The students, young adults now out of school (ages 15-21, approximately), focus on learning to spell and read high German.

English is used alongside PG among OOA. One 43-year-old OOA man noted that the domains in which PG and English are commonly used do not necessarily overlap, "Depending on what [the topic] is, I can think of the Pennsylvania German sooner than English."

Only one OOA revealed any openly hostile attitude towards PG, a 50-year-old woman (not the same woman as quoted in the previous paragraph) who made the startling statement: "I'd be glad if there was only one language: English." She offered no reason for this opinion.

[10] See Sasse 1992a, 23 on "rusty speakers."

In spite of the community norm which sanctions PG as the language for OOA in-group communication, some OOA prefer using English: school age children and young, unmarried adults, in particular. The influence of the OOA parochial schools, where only English may be spoken, is one cause for this preference. Thus, many OOA families with school-age children find themselves speaking English more than PG at home

In addition, there are Sunday evening singings where unmarried OOA can gather to socialize. Unlike at church services, songs at singings are mostly in English and so is conversation—perhaps 70% English, according to one 23-year-old OOA woman's estimate. Her 30-year-old brother, now married, recalled speaking a lot more English when he went to singings.

At least some of the preference for English among young OOA appears to be due to its overt prestige. "Young folks like to speak English. It's a style. Dutch is too old-fashioned," commented a 50-year-old OOA woman. "It depends on where they work," qualified a 19-year-old OOA woman, explaining that young OOA who choose to work at less-traditional, non-agricultural jobs (e.g., at an OOA grocer or in the local bakery or restaurants) speak English more at the singings.

"I talk too much English," acknowledged Ruby, a 23-year-old OOA woman who has been employed at the Kalona bakery for over two years. She also claimed that this is a phenomenon peculiar to Kalona: "Our community young folk don't speak German like a lot [of OOA] in Indiana or Pennsylvania." Her language choices reflect her environment: English during the week, and PG on Sundays.

Over time, the influence of children speaking English can extend to the parents as well. When asked in what situations she speaks PG, an OOA mother of twelve mentioned everyday situations at home, but then acknowledged that even at home English is often used: "about fifty percent English."

Kalona PG speakers see several advantages in being able to speak PG. Bilingualism was cited by many. Many M's and CM's cite being able to talk with OOA relatives and neighbors as an advantage. A disadvantage some noted was the interference of PG in their English.

Even though M's or CM's generally value speaking PG themselves, they have not made it a priority to teach their children. Few expressed making a conscious decision for or against using PG in the home. A number noted the fact that their spouse could not speak PG, so English was the language used at home. All of the OOA respondents affirmed that they want their children to speak PG, and most saw it simply as a matter of course.

Most respondents said they do not avoid speaking PG—at least at this stage of their lives—unless it is to avoid excluding those who don't speak it. This was not always the case. The world wars were often tense times for pacifists who spoke German.

One OOA man affirmed that it is necessary to speak PG in order to be Pennsylvania Dutch—or rather, "in order to be OOA," as the question was reinterpreted for him. He spoke of PG as crucial to the OOA religious identity: "That's our standards we have that we use the German...if we'd use the English in the churches and stuff that wouldn't be according to the rules and the regulations of the church." Other responses to this question were not interpretable, because it was not clear if reference was being made to the OOA or not.

The degree of fluency of the interviewees could only be evaluated subjectively, and was generally based on their ability to complete the translation task.

The degree of fluency appears to vary quite widely—even between husband and wife. Factors that appear to impact fluency positively are: having PG spoken in the home throughout childhood, being the eldest sibling (i.e., having no older brothers and sisters serving as early models for learning English), having and visiting Amish relatives, having a spouse who speaks PG, being older in age, affiliation with OOA or CM churches, and, perhaps, simply an interest in the language.

To summarize, then, PG and English are both positively valued in Kalona, though it is only the traditional plain OOA of all ages who use both codes extensively on a regular basis. For the historically plain M's and CM's, the domains of usage for PG have become increasingly restricted, and English has been their primary and dominant code for most of their adult lives.

3. Methods

3.1 Selection of dependent variable

In selecting a dependent variable for the study of variation in Kalona PG, I had in mind three criteria:

- the variable should be frequently occurring, and thus easy to elicit,
- the variable should have already been studied in other communities, thus allowing for comparison with previous research,
- the variable should be a clearly identifiable morphological or syntactic feature, thus avoiding any perceptual difficulties resulting from my unfamiliarity with PG phonology.
-

Morphological case marking in Pennsylvania German meets at least the first two of these criteria; the "clearly identifiable" criterion, proves difficult to satisfy (see section 3.1.4, p.265).

3.1.1 Case in PG

PG marks case in pronouns, determiners, and adjectives. In personal pronouns three cases are distinguished: nominative, accusative, and dative. The dative forms and the accusative forms with which they often vary in PG are shown in Table 2. The 1PL and 2PL use the same form for both accusative and dative and so are not included in the elicitation paradigms in this study (see Figure 1, p.269).

Table 2 "Standard" PG dative and accusative pronoun forms (Van Ness, 1994).

	Accusative	**Dative**
1.sg.	/mɪx/	**/mir/**
2.sg.	/dɪx/	**/dir/**
3.sg.masc.	/in/	**/im/**
3.sg.fem.	/si/	**/irə/**
3.sg.neut.	/əs/	**/im/**
1.pl.	/ʊns/	**/ʊns/**
2.pl.	/aix/	**/aix/**
3.pl.	/si/	**/inə/**

For possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, determiners and adjectives, two cases are distinguished: common and dative[11]. The interrogative pronoun, definite and indefinite determiner paradigms are noted in Table 3. The plural determiners use the same forms for both accusative and dative and so are not included in the elicitation questionnaire (see Figure 1, p. 269).

Table 3 "Standard" PG Determiners and Interrogative Pronoun Forms.

	Definite Common	**Definite Dative**	Indefinite Common	**Indefinite Dative**
sg. m. '*man*'	/*dər* man/	/***ən* man/**	/*əm* man/	/***mə* man/**
sg. f. '*woman*'	/*di* fra/	/***ən* fra/**	/*dər* fra/	/***rə* fra/**
sg. n. '*child*'	/*es* knd/	/***ən* knd/**	/*əm* knd/	/***mə* knd/**
pl. '*children*'	/*di* knər/	/***di* knər/**	/*də* knər/	/***də* kner/**
interrog. pn.	/*wer*/	/***wem***/	--	--

PG differs from Standard German in its pronominal morphology. Standard German does not collapse the nominative and accusative into common case and Standard German marks a fourth case—the genitive—as well.

[11] The common case in PG was formed by a collapsing together of the nominative and accusative cases.

3.1.2 The Functions of Dative Case in PG

It is the dative case in PG, and in certain other German dialects, that is often subject to variation as its functions are subsumed by the accusative or common cases. In order to understand this variation, we need to understand the functions that the dative case serves.[12]

The dative in PG serves four functions:

1. Dative marks the indirect object.
2. Dative is required for nouns governed by certain prepositions.
3. Dative is required for nouns governed by certain verbs.
4. Dative helps mark possession.

All of these functions, except for the last, are also present in Standard German.

An example of the first function in PG can be seen in:

(1) /si gɛbt əm man ən bux/
She gives M-DAT man N-ACC book

Here */əm man/* is the indirect object and takes the dative definite article, whereas the direct object */ən bux/* is in the accusative.

An example of the second function in PG can be seen in:

(2) /aus əm haus/
out of N-DAT house

Here */əm haus/* is in the dative because the preposition *aus* requires it.

An example of the third function in PG can be seen in:

(3) /ɪx hɛlfə dir/
I help 2SG-DAT

Here the second person singular pronoun is in the dative because the verb *helfe* requires it.

An example of the fourth function in PG (marking possession) can be seen in:

(4) /əm man sai bu/
M-DAT man his boy ('The man's boy')

[12] Thanks to Ilse Lehiste for her detailed discussion on the function of the dative in standard German.

3.1.3 Selection of specific variables involving the dative case

This study focuses, then, on variation in dative case marking in PG personal and interrogative pronouns and determiners, omitting adjectives (with the exception of one sentence (#21) on the questionnaire which includes a possessive adjective token), in order to limit the scope of the research. The goal is to understand to what extent the dative case remains viable in PG and to what extent its functions are being subsumed by the accusative and common cases.

PG personal and interrogative pronouns and determiners and possessive adjectives fit the criteria noted in 3.1, above: they form a suitably restricted lexical set of high-frequency function words which bear case-marking; they have been the subject of at least one detailed study, Huffines 1989, while others, such as Anderson and Martin 1976, make note of them as well; and they are a relatively easily identifiable morphological feature. The dative and accusative or common case variants of these variables can be seen in Table 2 and Table 3, above.

3.1.4 Criteria for inclusion and exclusion of tokens of dependent variable

I encountered some difficulties in identifying variants which are phonetically similar, e.g. /mɪx/ (1 SG ACC) and /mɪr/ (1 SG DAT). In examples like this when the velar fricative lenites and the /r/ is vocalized, it is very difficult to distinguish dative variants from accusative variants. This pattern is true for both the 1 SG and 2 SG pronominal forms. In some instances tokens were recorded whose case are impossible to determine, e.g. /mi/. Compounding this difficulty is the fact that this indeterminate form coincides in phonological form with the English word of the same meaning.[13]

All tokens which were indeterminate with respect to case, e.g. /mi/, /di/, were excluded from the statistical analyses.

The 3 SG pronouns (/im/ DAT and /in/ ACC) also pose problems in that they are only differentiated by the place of articulation of the final nasal. I circumvented this problem in the majority of cases by looking for closure of the lips during the elicitations.

Further study should include more detailed phonetic analyses of these tokens.

If, in the elicitation/translation task portion of the interview, the informant self-corrected or offered two tokens, only the first one was included in the data unless it resulted from

[13] This fact suggests that contact with English is playing a role in the levelling of dative case with accusative and common cases. Language contact is not a necessary condition for case levelling, however, since some continental German dialects have eliminated the dative without contact with a non-case marking language. Still, I will take the position outlined by Sarah Thomason at the 5th Annual Comparative Linguistics Workshop, October 1996, in which she stated that language contact must be assumed to be a factor in language change unless it can be proven that it was not. I do not imply by this that PG speakers who use /mi/ have borrowed it from English.

interviewee's confusion—often understandable—over whether I was intending to elicit 1.sg. or 2.sg forms (e.g. informant responds with *zu mir* 'to me' when 'to you' was being elicited). In these cases only the form intended in the elicitation was included. Responses which substituted verbs other than those being elicited were also omitted.[14]

3.2 Selection of independent variables

Independent linguistic variable (factor group) selected for study:

1. Grammatical function: indirect object, object of dative-governing preposition, object of dative-governing verb[15], possessive constructions.

Independent social variables (factor groups) selected for study were:

1. Religious affiliation: Old Order Amish, Conservative Mennonite, or Mennonite.
2. Age. A numeric variable assigned to a four-point ordinal scale: 0-40 years, 41-60 years, 61-80 years, 81+ years.
3. Sex: female and male.

3.2.1 Rationale for the selection of the independent linguistic variable

The internal independent variable "grammatical function" was selected in order to test whether dative case-marking is undergoing change in every environment that calls for it, and to observe which functions may be leading the change.

3.2.2 Rationale for the selection and scale design of the social variables[16]

The social variable "religious affiliation" was selected in order to observe to what extent the three major religious groups in Kalona pattern together in their use of dative case marking. As discussed in section 2.3 (p.255) the M, the CM, and the OOA differ considerably in their social practices with regards to education, occupations, style of worship, and past and current domains for usage of PG and English.

The social variable "age" was selected to help quantify any age-correlated effects such as those that Huffines 1989 observed. The four-point ordinal scale was developed on the basis of the data. Use of non-dative forms is nearly categorical for those under the age of 40 years-old. Those older than 40 were grouped into categories of roughly a generation time-span (20 years).

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[14] The step of omitting unelicited verbs was not necessary, since tokens are coded according to the environment of the response.

[15] These verbs which govern the dative are somewhat idiosyncratic in that, unlike a number of ditransitive verbs which govern two objects—one accusative, one dative—these verbs govern objects which do not have thematic roles which typically receive dative marking.

[16] Other social variables which may merit some examination are speaker fluency and attitude toward PG. Neither of these was included in this study, primarily due to the difficulties in appropriately and objectively quantifying these variables.

The relatively rigid social roles and apparently different social networks in which women and men interact, particularly in the OOA community (see section 2.3.1), may provide ample opportunity for the development and maintenance of gender-differentiated speech. It was for this reason that the social variable "sex" was selected.

3.3 Subjects

I developed a subject pool through contacts of my grandmother, a 93-year-old Mennonite woman who accompanied me on many of the interviews. I was able to interview a total of 70 persons in an extensive but loose network of people who knew each other.

I attempted to interview a diverse sample of speakers, but some gaps remain, most notably in the young M and CM speakers. Among the M's, I had difficulty locating fluent or semi-fluent speakers younger than 60. There is only one CM younger than 40 in this sample. The result is that the sample from M and CM speakers is skewed since tokens elicited from older speakers form a greater proportion of the data set. This bias in the data is taken into account in my analyses (see section 4.2.1).

A couple interviews were conducted with Kalona natives now living elsewhere. One, is a 25-year-old male born and raised in Kalona and currently residing in a Mennonite community in Florida. An additional interview was conducted with a 58 year-old Kalona native currently living in Columbus, Ohio.

Table 4. Distribution of interviewees and tokens across social variables.

Factor Groups Factors	# of interviewees	# of tokens
Religious Affiliation		
Old Order Amish	38	722
Conservative Mennonite	17	303
Mennonite	15	239
Age		
0-39	16	297
40-60	18	330
61-80	28	490
81+	8	147
Sex		
female	35	642
male	35	622
TOTAL (for each variable)	70	1264

3.4 Data collection

I visited the Kalona community in August 1995, December 1995, and August 1996 to gather data. On the first two visits my stay was limited to one day. The bulk of the interviews were conducted during a five-day period in August 1996.

3.4.1 Interviews

The interview consisted of two parts: 1) completion of a survey of personal linguistic background and attitudes toward the language, and 2) completion of a translation task of sentences which, in Standard German, call for dative constructions.

When possible, the entire interview was recorded using a Sony recorder and a Sony lavaliere battery-powered microphone. In many instances, though, I took notes on the linguistic background and attitudes section of the interview, and tape recorded only the translation task.

Personal information and questions about language usage and attitudes were collected in an oral interview using a written questionnaire as a guide. The questionnaire was based in part on the work of Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977. The questionnaire used in the 1995 interviews included three questions designed to elucidate attitudes toward "Pennsylvania Dutch" ethnicity. These three questions proved confusing and generally unhelpful and were dropped from the 1996 interviews.

In addition, questionnaires were sent to eight individuals in 1995, and these then completed the questionnaires in written form and returned them to me. Six of these eight completed an abbreviated oral interview in 1996, including the translation task.

3.4.2 Translation Task

For this part of the interview the subject was told that she or he would be read twenty-one sentences aloud in English, and she or he was instructed to "say it back to me in Pennsylvania German." While admittedly a less than natural speech task, this translation format was chosen because it allowed for focused elicitation of certain forms of interest in a short period of time, a factor that was crucial in order to include a sufficiently large number of subjects in my study.

Some sentences in the translation task were culled from Huffines' 1989 study, the rest I constructed based on the patterns of Huffines' sentences and forms found in other PG references. All were intended to elicit dative variants (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. The questionnaire.

English translation	Standard German Orthography
1. I helped *them* yesterday.	Ich habbe *ihnen* gestern geholfe.
2. It doesn't belong to *you*.	Das gehoert *dir* nicht.
3. His daddy often gives *me* money.	Sein fater gibt *mir* oft gelt.
4. The little girl throws the ball to *him*.	Das kleiner madchen wirft *im* den balle zu.
5. The teacher gave *her* a book.	Der lehrer gab *ihr* ein buch.
6. I will help *you* fix the door.	Ich helfe *dir* die teuer zu reparieren.
7. Grandfather told *them* a story.	Opa ertselter *ihnen* eine geschichte.
8. I still want to make *myself* a dress.	Ich will *mir* immer noch ein kleid machen.
9. It's hard for *her* to walk fast.	Es velt *ihr* schwer schnell zu gehen.
10. Who's sitting beside *him*?	Ver zitst nebem *ihm*?
11. He gave *me the* man's hat.	Er hat *mir den* hut des Mannes gegeben.
12. I'll lend *you* my book.	Ich werde *Dir* mein Buch leihen.
13. We gave *him* the letter.	Wir habben *ihm* den Brief gegeben.
14. I give the wagon to *the* boy.	Ich gebe *dem* Jungen den Wagen. OR Ich gebe den Wagen an den Jungen.
15. The father gave *the* grandfather the key.	Der Vater gab *dem* Grossvater den Schlussel.
16. To *whom* did you give the letter?	*Wem* hast Du den Brief gegeben?
17. *Whose* letter is that?	*Wessen* Brief ist das?
18. Mother helped *me* cook supper.	Die Mutter hat *mir* geholfen, Abendsessen zu kochen.
19. The boy gave *the* mother a shoe.	Der junge hat *der* Mutter einen Schuh gegeben.
20. The girl told *you* a story.	Das madchen hat *Dir* eine Geschichte erzahlt.
21. Let's go to *my* sister's house.	Lass uns zu *meiner* Schwester

Fifteen sentences in the questionnaire contain pronominal forms for which dative or *accusative* case are the variants: 1-13, 18, 20. See Table 2, above.

Seven sentences in the questionnaire contain determiners or interrogative pronouns for which dative and *common* cases are the variants: 11, 14-17, 19, 21.[17]

A caveat is needed here. What qualifies as a dative construction in standard German may not be so in PG—and may not have been in any of the dialects contributing to the

[17] Sentence 21, in fact, contains two instances of dative marking, one embedded within the other. First, since this is a possessive construction (*my sister's house = mainre schwester ire house = my sister her house*), the possessive adjective *mainre* should receive dative case. Secondly, the preposition *zu* subcategorizes for dative, thus the pronoun modifying *house* must receive dative case. I didn't recognize the nature of this construction until late in my research. Therefore, statistical runs include only the embedded dative resulting from the subcategorization of *zu*; I omit the possessive form (note that there are no instances of dative case for either construction). This is a regrettable error. I do make note of the embedded possessives in the discussion of the environments for dative usage (section 4.3, p.278).

formation of PG in colonial Pennsylvania. This valid criticism can be at least partially corrected by making reference to PG grammars. I have consulted Frey's grammar of PG and it confirms the majority of these sentences as clearly requiring dative forms. There are, however, apparent discrepancies between Frey and two of Huffines's sentences which I employ:

- #8 can be interpreted as a reflexive, but Frey's reflexive pronouns have the same forms as the accusative personal pronouns[18] (30).
- In #9 *fur* ("for") is a preposition which supposedly subcategorizes for the dative. Frey, however, lists it as subcategorizing for the accusative (40).

An additional problem, however, arises when we consult a grammar such as Frey's. Inasmuch as these grammars often reflect non-plain (NPG) norms and usage that is perhaps archaic, even these sources may not be completely reliable for establishing norms for plain communities such as Kalona.

In two interviews conducted in August 1995 only 10 sentences were elicited. In the December 1995 interviews, 20 sentences containing 21 possible tokens of dative constructions were elicited.

3.5 Statistical Analyses

Tokens of dative case variants were taken from the responses to the translation task and were analyzed using the GoldVarb 2.1 statistical program[19]. The relative weight of each variant within each factor group was determined via a one-level binomial analysis. The significance of the contribution of each factor group to the variation in the data was calculated using logistic regression (step-up and step-down).

In addition, the degree of correlation of the factor group "age" with the amount of dative forms utilized by each individual was studied and graphed using logistic regression in the SigmaPlot 5.0 graphing system.

4. Results

4.1 Overall patterns of Dative Usage

There is a great deal of variation in morphological marking of dative case in Kalona PG, but non-dative forms are the most commonly selected variants (see Table 5). Out of 1442 tokens of potential occurrence, Kalona PG speakers mark less than half of them (27%) with the dative case, and a notable number of tokens (13%) are either indeterminate in form or are structured so as to eliminate the need for case marking (e.g. *es is net dains* for 'It doesn't belong to you'). These tokens—marked "Other"—are omitted from further statistical analyses.

[18] With the exception of the 3rd person forms which are *sich*.

[19] GoldVarb 2.1 is based on programs developed by David Sankoff, Pascal Rousseau, Don Hindle, and Susan Pintzuk. It is adapted for use on the Macintosh by David Rand.

Table 5. Kalona translation task.

	Dative	Non-Dative[1]	Other	Total
TOTAL	27% (382)	61% (882)	13% (180)	1442

[1] "Non-Dative" refers to either accusative or common case.

The data in Table 5 clearly indicate that the dative vs. accusative and dative vs. common case distinctions are restricted in their use in Kalona PG.

4.2 Significance and weighting of independent variables

All tokens, with the exception of those marked for exclusion (see section 3.1.4, p.265 and section 4.1) were fed into the GoldVarb statistical program with all four independent factor groups being included in the first run.

Step-wise logistic regression selected three of the four (independent variable) factor groups as significant:

1. grammatical function
2. religious affiliation
3. age

The factor group "sex" is eliminated; it is not a significant factor and will not be discussed further in this paper.[20]

A second run was then made using only the three factor groups identified as significant from the first run. The weighting of the variants within each of these three factor groups is displayed in Table 6. For "Weight," the closer the value is to 1, the greater the weight of the factor, i.e., the greater the probability for the application of dative case[21]. The "Application/Total" figure shows the percentage of dative tokens (applications) out of the total number of tokens of this variant (e.g., for "object of verb" this is 42/187 = 0.22). The "Input & Weight" figure combines the overall input[22] for application of dative case, here, 0.144, with the weight for that particular factor.

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[20] There is a small but insignificant difference between female and male speakers' usage of the dative: Out of a total of 642 tokens from female speakers, 33% (212) were dative variants. This contrasts with the male speakers who yielded only 27% dative variants (170 out of a total of 622 tokens). However, this apparent difference between the sexes is, in fact, an artefact of the data, in which the informant pool contains a relatively high number of older females—and older speakers are more likely to use dative forms. The average age of the female informants is 59.5 years, while the average age of the male informants is only 55.5 years. Most important is the fact that over half (51%) of the female informants are 70 years or older, while only a third (34%) of the male informants are 70 years or older. So it is not the case that Kalona women use more dative forms than men, but that simply, there are more older women than older men in this study, which results in the women producing more dative forms overall.

[21] The "weight" for a given factor is roughly its contribution to the expected number of dative tokens for a particular cell in a contigency table (a cell might be: *tokens of indirect objects elicited from OOA 80+ yrs olds*). "Weight" can be used to figure this factor effect in ANOVA using the formula ln(weight/1-weight).

[22] The "input" for a given run can be used to calculate m for the linear regression equation $ln(F'_{ij}) = m + A_i + B_j$ by employing the formula *ln(input/1-input)*.

Table 6. Factor weights.

Factor Group Factors	Weight	Application/ Total	Input & Weight
Grammatical Function			
object of verb	0.354	0.22	0.08
object of preposition	0.499	0.30	0.14
indirect object	0.466	0.29	0.13
possession	0.836	0.50	0.46
Religious Affiliation			
Old Order Amish	0.419	0.18	0.12
Mennonite	0.614	0.54	0.21
Conservative Menno.	0.601	0.41	0.20
Age			
80+ yrs. old	0.933	0.69	0.70
61-80 yrs. old	0.844	0.51	0.48
41-60 yrs. old	0.317	0.08	0.07
0-40 yrs. old	0.038	0.01	0.01
input[23] = 0.144			
Total chi-square = 51.6882			
Chi-square/cell = 1.0768			
Log likelihood = -502.194			

The low chi-square/cell—only 1.0768—demonstrates that the statistical model based on the frequency distribution of tokens with respect to these variables provides a very close fit with the data. In other words, this confirms that these three factor groups are significant in accounting for variation in dative case marking in these data. Also the total chi-square of 51.6882 is much greater than the corresponding critical value for p=.05 (which is χ^2=18.3 for 10 df), and, in fact, indicates that the model is significant to p=.001.

The variants which are most heavily weighted in favor of dative use are: for grammatical function, the possessive construction (0.836); for religious affiliation, Mennonites (0.614); and for age, the oldest speakers, age 80 and over (0.933).

Among the three significant factor groups, "age" is the most significant followed by "grammatical function" and lastly "religious affiliation." This ranking of factor groups is based on the order in which each group was included in the step-up regression analysis, i.e., "age" was selected first and "religious affiliation" last.

In section 3.3 I note that within each religious affiliation group the distribution of speakers is not evenly spread across the four age groups. This can be seen in the cross-tabulation of "religious affiliation" against "age" in Table 7. The three figures in each

cell indicate the number of informants included in the cell, the total number of tokens in the cell, and the percentage of dative tokens. The shaded cells mark cells in which there is just one informant.

Table 7. Crosstabulations of "religious affiliation" against "age".

	OOA			M			CM			total[d]		
	p[a]	t[b]	%[c]	p	t	%	p	t	%	p	t	%
80+ yrs	4	74	72%	3	54	72%	1	19	53%	8	147	69%
61-80 yrs	9	173	35%	9	143	59%	10	174	60%	28	490	51%
41-60 yrs	11	202	7%	2	29	14%	5	99	10%	18	330	8%
0-40 yrs	14	273	1%	1	13	0%	1	11	0%	16	297	1%
total	38	722	18%	15	239	54%	17	303	41%	70	1264	30%

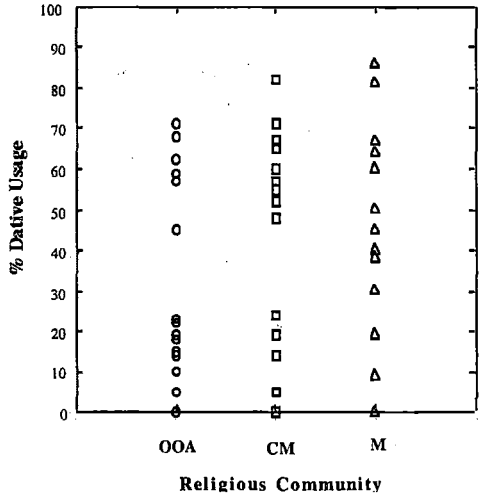
[a]p = # persons. [b]t = total # tokens. [c]% = percent dative tokens
[d]"total" here and elsewhere in statistical analyses omit the approximately 180 tokens which were not marked with dative, accusative, or common case.

Given this unequal representation of speakers of particular religious affiliations within certain age cohorts, in the next section I explore the possibility that the selection of religious affiliation as a significant factor group might, in fact, be simply the result of this bias in the data sample.

4.2.1 The significance of factor group "religious affiliation" as an artefact of unequal representation of factor group "age" in the informant pool

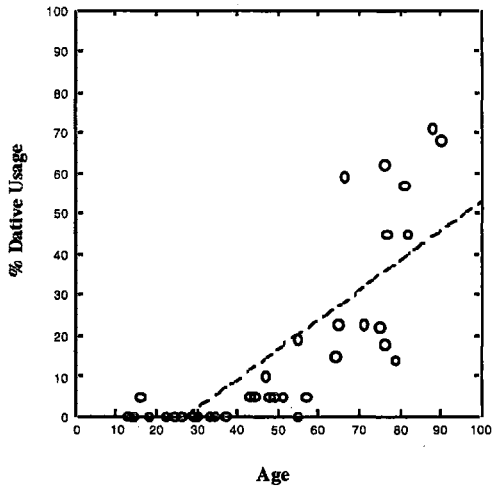
In order to observe the patterning of dative usage within each of the three religious communities in Kalona, I graphed individuals against the percent of dative forms that they employed. The patterning of individuals within the OOA, the CM's, and the M's can be seen in Graph 1.

Graph 1. Religious Community vs. % Dative



Graph 1 reveals that there are widely varying individual practices (0% to over 70% percent dative usage) within each religious affiliation group. The next three graphs plot age vs. % dative usage for OOA (Graph 2), CM (Graph 3), and M (Graph 4).

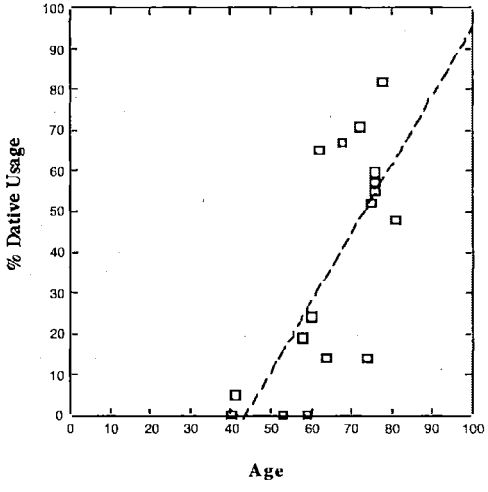
Graph 2. Age vs. % Dative Usage (OOA)



Note in Graph 2 how a pattern immediately emerges. The older the speaker, the more dative forms she or he uses. Of the dozen or so younger OOA speakers below the age of 40 only one individual employs even a single dative form. However, in spite of this obvious pattern, there is one group of OOA who exhibit great variation of percent dative usage: those in their 70's.

The dashed line in Graph 2 is the regression curve. The r-value for the regression curve is .79, which means that variation along the x-axis (age) can account for well over half (62%) of the variation along the y-axis.[23] This is a strong correlation.

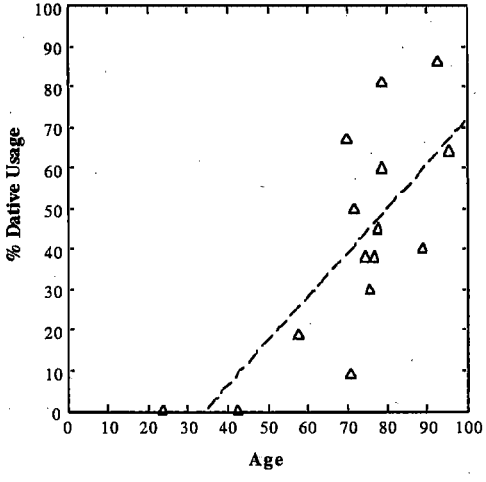
Graph 3. Age vs. % Dative Usage (CM)



Graphs 3 and 4 illustrate a similar pattern among the CM's and M's respectively: the older the speaker, the more dative forms used. The pattern is not as obvious in either of these groups as it is in the OOA due in large part to an absence of younger speakers. Still, the r-values for the regression curves for both Graphs 3 and 4 are high: .73 for Graph 3 and .75 for Graph 4. This means that variation in age can account for 53% of the variation in percent dative usage in the CM data and 56% of the variation in percent dative usage in the M data.

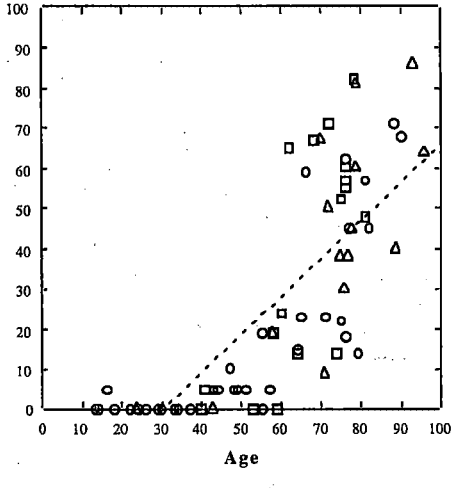
[23] For any regression curve, the square of the r-value (r^2) yeilds the percentage of variation in the y-axis which can be accounted for by variation in the x-axis.

Graph 4. Age vs. % Dative Usage (M)



Graph 5 combines the data for the entire Kalona community. Not surprisingly, the positive correlation between age and percent dative usage holds. The r-value for the regression curve is .78 which means that variation along the x-axis (age) can account for well over half (61%) of the variation along the y-axis: a very strong correlation.

Graph 5. Age vs. % Dative Usage (all)



So the overlapping pattern of usage between individuals of different religious affiliations in Graph 1 hides the fact that the majority of CM and M speakers have a relatively high-frequency use of the dative, which in turn is a result of the fact that the majority of these speakers are relatively old.

These findings are supported by another run of the data through logistic regression, this time identifying as input only the independent variables grammatical function and age.

Table 8. Factor weights: age and grammatical function.

Factor Group . Variants	Weight	Application/ Total	Input & Weight
Grammatical Function			
object of verb	0.360	0.22	0.09
object of preposition	0.494	0.30	0.14
indirect object	0.465	0.29	0.13
possession	0.830	0.50	0.46
Age			
80+ yrs. old	0.933	0.69	0.71
61-80 yrs. old	0.862	0.51	0.52
41-60 yrs. old	0.317	0.08	0.07
0-40 yrs. old	0.030	0.01	0.01
input = 0.147			
Total chi-square = 15.1236			
Chi-square/cell = 0.9452			
Log likelihood = -513.560			

The result is an even better fit with the chi-square/cell being only 0.9452.[24] So variation in the data is best accounted for simply by variation in age and in the grammatical function of the case marking.

[24] Of course, since GoldVarb does not take into account interaction effects, a comparison of the log likelihood of this run with that in Table 6 suggests that the model which includes religious affiliation is a better one. Using the formula $\chi^2 = -2L_{\text{simpler model}} + 2L_{\text{more complex model}}$ we calculate $\chi^2 = 22.732$, which, for df = 12 is significant at p=.05, though *not* at p=.025 (In fact, df = 11, but I am using an abridged table of χ^2 distributions). If we are to have GoldVarb take into account the interaction effect between age and religious affiliation, we would need to recode the data so that various combinations of age and religious affiliation would be the factors in a separate factor group, e.g., 80+ yrs old and Mennonite would constitute one factor, 80+ and Conservative Mennonite another, etc. If this new factor group then is statistically significant and if it is included in the step-up regression *before* religious affiliation, then we have a clear measure of interaction.

4.3 Linguistic independent variables: the environments of dative usage in Kalona PG

Of crucial importance is the identification of constructions in which the dative is best conserved and those in which it has virtually disappeared in the speech of all of the interviewees. By identifying contexts in which it is used and not used, we can identify which functions the dative continues to fill and which functions speakers have relinquished to the accusative or common cases. The data gathered in this study, while limited in the variety of contexts in which potential dative tokens are elicited, can reveal some tendencies.

The grammatical function of possession (weight = 0.830) is easily the most likely to elicit dative forms from all but the youngest group of informants, who have categorically neutralized dative case distinctions. Less heavily weighted are the functions object of preposition (.494) and indirect object (.465). The function least likely to receive dative case is object of verb (.360).

The heavy weight for the possessive function can be attributed to a single form: the interrogative possessive pronoun /vem sai/, "whose." The interrogative possessive pronoun is by far the environment which most favors use of the dative case in Kalona PG. It is the only context for which a majority of informants (65%) provided a dative form. It is also a frozen construction, as evidenced by two facts. First, the function of marking possession does not, in other contexts, favor the use of the dative to nearly the same extent. This can be seen in sentences such as "He gave me *the* man's hat," (#11a), and "Let's go to *my* sister's house," (#21), which yielded only 28% and 0%, dative forms respectively[25]. Secondly, the same pronoun serving a different function, that of interrogative personal pronoun, /vem/, "to whom," elicited much fewer dative forms.

Even so, the interrogative personal pronoun, /vem/, "to whom," ranks high as a dative-eliciting construction with 39% of the informants utilizing a dative form. We can generalize, then, and note that the high-frequency interrogative pronouns are two contexts in which many speakers have preserved the dative case.

Since use of dative case is an age-correlated phenomenon, I also compared age groups in order to identify differences in the patterns of case marking for the various functions of dative case (see Table 9).

[25] Note that the construction in #21 was inadvertantly left out of the statistical analyses. See footnote 17, p.269.

Table 9 Crosstabulation of "grammatical function" vs. "age".

	Object of Verb			Object of Prep			Indirect Obj			Possess			Ttl%
Age	d[a]	t[b]	%[c]	d	t	%	d	t	%	d	t	%	%
80+	15	20	75	26	43	60	49	70	70	12	14	86	69
61-80	27	75	36	75	140	54	109	227	48	39	48	81	51
41-60	0	48	0	8	91	9	8	159	5	12	32	38	8
0-40	0	44	0	0	91	0	2	131	2	0	31	0	1
Total	42	187	22	109	365	30	168	587	29	63	125	50	30

[a]d = # dative tokens. [b]t = total # tokens. [c]% = percent dative tokens

Again, the possessive function is clearly the most frequently marked with dative for the three age groups that still retain the dative case, as the shaded areas in the fourth column indicate. But the function which ranks second for application of the dative is not the same for these age groups. For those 80 years-old and older it is "object of verb" with 75% application. In the 61-80 and 41-60 years-old groups, this function ranked last. This pattern is difficult to explain, though it should be noted that the data set includes only one verb subcategorizing for dative, so this is perhaps not probative.

A clearer pattern emerges if we look at the function "object of preposition" which ranked second in both the 61-80 years-old and the 41-60 years-old groups. Though it trails possessive function by a large margin, this function ranks well ahead of the other two functions in the percentage of dative-marking, particularly among the 41-60 year-olds. This suggests that prepositions which subcategorize for dative case are also particularly resistant to the intrusion of accusative and common case marking. This may be due, in part, to the prevalence of contracted forms occurring with the preposition /tsu/ "to," e.g., /tsu/ + /əm/ (3SG DAT def. det.) which results in /tsum/. This contracted form then is also frozen; it appears it may be acquired as simply a morphological variant of /tsu/.

Certain forms of the dative were not produced by any of the speakers in this study: 3 SG feminine determiner /dɛr/ (in sentence #19 "The boy gave *the* mother a shoe") and the 1 SG possessive adjective /maɪnrə/ (in sentence #21 "Let's go to *my* sister's house"). Both have simply been collapsed together with the accusative or common case. The 3 SG feminine determiner /dɛr/ has collapsed with the common case /di/, and the 1 SG feminine possessive adjective, /maɪnrə/, has collapsed with the common case and converged to English as /maɪ/.

In both of these cases, however, the functions which the dative serves—marking the indirect object and marking possession—are maintained by a significant minority of speakers in their use of the pronominal and/or determiner paradigms. For example see the 3 SG masculine determiner in sentence #15, "The father gave *the* grandfather the key,"(indirect object) and in sentence #11, "He gave me *the* man's hat," (possession).

So we note here the irregular and gradual nature of the attrition of dative usage in the Kalona community. As the dative case collapses with the accusative or common cases, it does so not in a general way affecting all members of a given paradigm in the same way at the same time. Rather, certain forms are lost first.

It is not clear why the dative form of the 3 SG masculine determiner is retained while that of the 3 SG feminine determiner is not, although the existence of contracted forms with certain prepositions may play a role. There is no evidence from other possessive adjectives which could help us to assess which forms, if any, from that paradigm might retain the dative, and, more importantly, why they would do so.

This pattern, however, was also observed by Dorian (1989b) in the NPG of Hamburg, Pennsylvania. For the three functions indirect object, object of preposition, and possession[26], the masculine singular and neuter singular pronouns and determiners were near-categorically marked with dative case. The plural and feminine determiners, on the other hand, were much less likely to receive dative case: plural objects 87%, feminine objects 91% (vs. 100% for non-masculine), plural possessives 36%, feminine possessives 27% (vs. 87% for non-masculine). No explanation is offered, but we might note that masculine and neuter dative forms are identical, so that their occurrence is statistically more frequent than the feminine and the plural forms.

Dorian also found that embedded NPs or NPs which were the second NP in a compound only rarely received dative case. She notes that in these cases where there are two consecutive NPs, deviance from dative norms increases with the distance from the element which subcategorizes for dative case.

Further analysis in this area, along with elicitation of a wider range of dative-requiring verbs and phrases is of great interest as it may show just what environments are most saliently dative environments to Kalona PG speakers and perhaps also yield some clues as to the nature of the process of attrition in the rusty speaker.

5. Discussion

In all instances dative variants are considered to be evidence of conforming to a more conservative norm and accusative or common case tokens are evidence of innovation away from this (perhaps now quite dated) norm[27].

[26] The function object of verb, was not tested in Dorian's study.

[27] Here we are faced again with the difficulty of defining the conservative norm. In the absence of documentation of the speech of the Kalona PG community in its early years, I assume that its norms of usage were similar to those noted in standard German and PG grammars (but this may be problematic, too, see section 3.4.2, p.268).

5.1 Change in apparent time

Graph 5 clearly displays a change in apparent time in the Kalona speech community. On the basis of current age-differentiated usage of dative forms, we, then, can hypothesize a change in real time, that is, that the dative case has undergone considerable reduction in use in Kalona in this century.

The relationship between change in apparent time and change in real time rests on certain assumptions related to language acquisition and language attrition. If the process of language acquisition does indeed lead to a gelling of the speaker's grammar in a relatively immutable state during or shortly following adolescence, then we should expect that a given speaker's usage will reflect the language use of the entire speech community at that point in time.[28] In addition, language attrition, due either to the effects of aging or to disuse of the language, must be assumed to be minimal.

Thus, the usage of the 19-year-old reflects current norms of usage in the Kalona community, while the usage of the 79-year-old would reflect the norms of usage of the speech community some sixty years ago, in the 1930's.

What this tells us is that the reduction of use of the dative case began before the beginning of the twentieth century (since no speaker has 100% usage of dative tokens) and has occurred largely during the lifetimes of the oldest of the informants in this study.[29] Given that speakers forty years old and younger use no dative forms (with the exception of one), we can say that this change appears to have reached it's apex approximately thirty years ago.

In order to be sure of this proposal for apparent time change, however, we need to eliminate the possibility of age-graded change, that is, a stable situation in the speech community in which young persons' usage differs from that of older persons', and the individual's usage, then, changes over time to match those of her age-mates. If this were the case in Kalona, then the data could be accounted for by assuming that individuals increase the frequency with which they employ the dative as they grow older. Eliminating the possibility of age-graded change requires at least one piece of data showing a real-time change. Recordings and writings of Kalona PG from thirty or more years ago providing evidence of a relatively more dative-rich usage by the entire speech community would confirm real time change.

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[28] Labov (1994, 98-112) has mustered some evidence to show the stability of individual phonological systems over time. The stability of individual morphological and syntactic systems, central to this paper, has not been studied in a similar way.

[29] The origins of the loss of the dative are not fully explored in this paper. Certainly, reduction in the use of the dative might have begun much earlier--perhaps even several centuries previous to the lifespans of the informants in this research. All we can say with assurance is that the process began before the critical gelling period in the acquisition of these informants.

Such data are not currently available. However, as Labov notes: "Age-grading is most typical of the more conscious types of style shifting and correction," (1994, 101) and "...variables operating at high levels of social awareness are modified throughout a speaker's lifetime, with consistent age-grading in the community" (1994, 111). There is no evidence that dative usage is a variable of which Kalona PG speakers are highly aware to the extent that they employ it in style shifting[30]. It is thus not likely that it is a variable undergoing age-graded change.

5.2 Accounting for age-correlated differences in dative usage in Kalona PG

5.2.1 Religious heterogeneity; linguistic homogeneity: a single speech community

Underneath its disguise of remarkable heterogeneity in religious and lifestyle practices, Kalona retains, in the speech of its people, evidence of the days when the community was much more homogeneous. At the turn of the twentieth century, the norms for the use of PG, as well as English, which had a more limited role at the time, were shared by the Anabaptists in Kalona even as their religious beliefs began to diverge.

Age reflects the sociological changes which took place during the fracturing of the erstwhile religiously homogenous Amish-Mennonite community of Kalona. Dative usage reflects the speaker's age of acquisition in relation to changes in education, interaction with English-speakers, and church community rifts.

Hinskens (p.c.) and Arvaniti and Joseph (1999, this volume) have noted that age in itself is not explanatory. We must identify ways in which particular historical events or trends have impacted speakers' usage in specific ways. This is the focus of the next section.

5.2.2 Historical events influencing loss of dative marking in Kalona

The first events which indicate linguistic change was afoot in Kalona took place only thirty years after the community was founded.

In the 1870's the first Sunday schools were established in Kalona. However, the motivation for these was not entirely for spiritual formation. As Gingerich notes, these first Sunday Schools were "in reality German schools in which that language was taught to the children. With the growing importance of the public school system, the Amish felt that it was necessary to take more active steps in retaining the German language." (Gingerich, 132). So apparently already contact with English, in particular via the public schools, that is, via their *children*, spurred the community to try to shore up its linguistic defenses.

[30] There were a couple instances of self-correction in which older speakers first produced non-dative forms and then changed to dative forms. However, this is at least partially balanced out by instances in which speakers produced a dative form in the wrong person (i.e. 1SG instead of 2SG) and when making the correction also changed to a nondative form (e.g., *mir* changed to *dix*) with no apparent attention paid to the difference in case marking.

At this same time there occurred the first splits in the religious community due to a clash in leadership styles. This first split would be followed by others, and eventually language, more precisely the role of PG, would play a role in church divisions.

More divisions occurred in the 1890's when the first meeting houses (church buildings) were constructed by some Amish-Mennonites as a means of dealing with burgeoning growth and overcrowded worship services in homes. Other Amish-Mennonite meetings saw this as a move toward worldly fashion and continued to meet in homes.

The next significant period in Kalona history was the 1910's. A rapid series of decisions by certain churches during this period provided the impetus for the evolution/realignment of the community into the three major Anabaptist groups there today.

The first decision was the telephone question of 1912. There were long, vociferous debates among the Amish-Mennonites as to the worldliness of the telephone and whether members should own or use them. Eventually some chose to adopt the phones, a move which placed them in closer contact with their "Englisch" neighbors.

At this same time high school education was gaining grudging approval in some corners. By the next decade many Mennonites (as they were by then known, see below) were attending public schools all the way through to the achievement of the diploma. It should not be a surprise that these students gained a toe-hold in an English-speaking world, and that English was making greater inroads into the home lives of these PG speakers.

The extent to which English was replacing PG as the language of common currency among these more liberal Mennonite groups was clearly evidenced when many churches began singing in English and then allowing for sermons to be in English. For these speakers the acceptable domains of usage for PG were increasingly being restricted to occasional use in the home, often with older relatives.

It was during this time, too, in the 20's and 30's, that certain churches made the decision to completely break with the OOA and to affiliate with the Mennonite or Conservative Mennonite conferences separate from the OOA. This resulted in the religious groups as they exist today: the OOA continuing as the traditional "plain people" and the M's and CM's creating a new identity as historically plain communities assimilating, to varying degrees, to the dominant culture.

During this time of communal and linguistic upheaval we might wonder whether or not linguistic norms—such as maintaining distinct dative forms in PG—might be in flux. If we perceive of linguistic change as graphing over time in the shape of an S-curve, that is, beginning slowly, continuing rapidly in the middle, and slowing again as it nears completion., then perhaps it is the 1920's and 1930's in Kalona which map onto the steep slope of the S-curve of change in dative usage. It is, then, no surprise that the children of

this time period, the 70-year-olds in my study, should end up with such widely varying usage of dative variants. In acquiring PG case, they were taking aim at a shifting target.

In this section I have presented a chain of events in the history of the Kalona PG community, culminating in a series of divisions over the adoption of practices which encouraged the use of English in more and more domains of life (e.g., the telephone, the automobile, high school education). These events coincide with changes in the linguistic norms of the community, i.e., changes in case usage which reflect convergence to English.

5.2.3 Comparison of Northumberland County, PA with Kalona

There are two ways in which we might compare Huffines's "sectarians" with our Kalona community. If we think of "sectarian" strictly in terms of historical religious affiliation traditions, then the entire Kalona community is sectarian. If we define "sectarian" instead as a separatist "traditional plain" community in which PG is being maintained, then only the OOA of Kalona would qualify as sectarian while the "historically plain" M and CM communities of Kalona would be equated with Northumberland nonsectarians (see Table 10).

Table 10. Comparison of Northumberland Co. with Kalona subjects.

	Northumberland Co., PA	Kalona, IA
Anabaptist Faith Tradition	non-sectarian (other)	none
	sectarian (Amish and Menno.)	OOA, CM, M
Language Maintenance	non-sectarian (lg death)	CM, M
	sectarian (lg vitality)	OOA

A quick comparison of Northumberland and Kalona data does reveal some similarities, as Table 11 (reproduced from Table 1 for ease of reference) and Table 12 show. The Kalona data include percentages as well as raw token counts since the size of the token pool differs considerably between each group.

Table 11 Huffines (1989) translation task.

Group	Dative	Accusative	Other	Total
Non-sectarian	83	22	0	105
N-s 1st Eng. speaker in fam.	50	43	1	94
N-s 2nd Eng. speaker in fam.	30	39	8	77
Mennonite	1	86	0	87
Amish	2	90	0	92

Table 12. Kalona translation task.

Group (# subjects)	Dative	Non-Dative[1]	Other	Total
Mennonite (15)	131 (42%)	112 (36%)	66 (21%)	309
Conservative Mennonite (17)	126 (36%)	181 (52%)	39 (11%)	346
Old Order Amish (38)	126 (16%)	586 (74%)	75 (10%)	787
TOTAL	383 (27%)	879 (61%)	180 (13%)	1442

[1] "Non-Dative" refers to either accusative or common case.

The most significant similarity is that the plain communities in both Northumberland County and Kalona are the ones who are maintaining PG and the ones who appear to be most advanced in the collapsing of the dative case into accusative (or accusative/common in the Kalona data).

Still, whether we compare the two data sets with reference to the language maintaining communities in each or to the Anabaptist faith traditions in each, there are clear differences. Kalona OOA do not pattern with Huffines' Northumberland County Amish. In Northumberland the sectarians have virtually no dative variants in their speech. In Kalona, among the OOA and every group, the number of dative variants used correlates with age. Clearly the "remarkable homogeneity" in case usage among the Northumberland sectarians is not true of Kalona as a whole or even among the traditional plain OOA of Kalona.

What is more, there appears to be no obvious reason for us to posit an earlier stage in PG for which the norms for case usage (and, of course, for all other grammatical subsystems) were shared between Kalona and Northumberland County. It seem, rather, that every community may have had significantly different norms of usage, dependent in large part upon the origins of its founders. In the case of Kalona, for example, there is evidence that a considerable number of the earliest settlers were first-generation German immigrants. The dialects spoken by these settlers may have differed considerably from that of the newly emergent Pennsylvania German. The settlement patterns of each PPG community must, therefore, be carefully examined to determine what significant input dialects may have existed to modify PG.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have described variation in case marking in a plain Pennsylvania German speaking community. Dative case marking is an age-correlated phenomenon which is also sensitive to particular functions the dative can serve in PG. I have offered a sociohistorical account for the spread of accusative and common case marking into functions formerly reserved for dative case. This account demonstrates that the traditional plain OOA and historically plain CM and M religious communities must be considered a single speech community with respect to this development. Finally, I offer clear quantitative evidence that this linguistic change is not proceeding at the same rate in at least one other PPG community (Northumberland County, PA).

These findings corroborate the observation by Burridge 1992 that there is significant variation between PPG communities. These findings lead us to question the notion of the homogeneity of PG at earlier stages—even homogeneity across various OOA communities.

In addition, there is the continuing evolution of PPG dialects as they exist in noncontiguous regions across North America. These sprachinsel dialects offer us the opportunity to observe simultaneously processes of divergence and parallel processes of convergence to the dominant language of the matrix culture (English).

Future research must be conducted across a much broader bundle of phonological and morphological features in several regional plain Pennsylvania German dialects.

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